

Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 STATE 147700
ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00
PA-02 USIA-15 PRS-01 SP-02 IO-14 SIG-02 SS-15
NSC-05 /074 R

DRAFTED BY AF/P:BRUSSELL
APPROVED BY AF/P:BRUSSELL
AF/S:DPETTERSON

-----082659 250323Z /61

R 241857Z JUN 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

UNCLAS STATE 147700

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: EVANS - NOVAK ARTICLE ON SOUTH AFRICA - JUNE 24

1. THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE, ENTITLED "THE LINGERING SEEDS OF TRAGEDY" APPEARED IN THE JUNE 24 WASHINGTON POST.
2. CAPE TOWN - SERIOUS EFFORTS BY THE RULING NATIONALIST PARTY'S MORE ENLIGHTENED LEADERS TO FORESTALL DISASTER IN SOUTH AFRICA ARE ENCOUNTERING INTRANSIGENCE FROM PARTY STALWARTS AND DISDAIN FROM WASHINGTON, A SITUATION THAT IS BUILDING A SENSE OF FUTURE TRAGEDY.
3. WHAT IS BEING CAUTIOUSLY ADVANCED BY VERLIGTE (ENLIGHTENED) AFRIKAANERS WOULD HAVE SURPRISED AND PLEASED THE WORLD FIVE YEARS AGO: GRADUAL DISMANTLING OF APARTHEID, THE INSTITUTIONALIZED RACIAL DISCRIMINATION ESTABLISHED BY THE NATIONALISTS WHEN THEY GAINED POWER IN 1948. BEYOND THAT, THE VERLIGTES WANT TO GIVE THE COUNTRY'S NON-WHITE MAJORITY

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 147700

A BIGGER PIECE OF THE ECONOMIC PIE AND, ULTIMATELY, A SLICE OF POLITICAL POWER.

4. BUT MILITANT BLACKS HERE AND THE COALITION OF THIRD WORLD AND COMMUNIST COUNTRIES THAT DOMINATES THE UNITED NATIONS REJECT ANYTHING SHORT OF STRICT MAJORITY-RULE - AN

INFLEXIBLE CLOSING OF THE DOOR TO MODERATION APPARENTLY CONCURRED IN BY THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION. THE VERKRAMPTTE (INTRACTABLE) AFRIKAANERS CITE THIS AS PROOF THAT SINCE ONLY THE SUICIDE OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICA WILL SATISFY THE AMERICANS, THEY HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BY TAKING UP ARMS.

5. CERTAINLY, THE OFFICIAL U.S. POSITION HERE BELITTLES THE GOVERNMENT'S HESITANT REDUCTION OF RACIAL PREFERENCES. BUT A MINORITY VIEW AT THE AMERICAN EMBASSY, OBJECTING TO WASHINGTON'S NEW LINE, BELIEVES THESE TENTATIVE FIRST STEPS - THOUGH LARGELY SUPERFICIAL - OUGHT TO BE APPLAUDED WHILE FURTHER STEPS ARE URGED.

6. PERVASIVE "WHITES ONLY" SIGNS ARE BEGINNING TO COME DOWN, MOST NOTABLY IN POST OFFICES. REGULAR BLACK-VS.-WHITE BOXING AND WRESTLING MARKS THE BEGINNING OF INTER-RACIAL ATHLETICS. THE COUNTRY WAS AMAZED BY A RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH, INTELLECTUAL BASTION OF AFRIKAANERDOM, IS BEING OPENED TO NON-WHITES ON A VERY LIMITED BASIS.

7. STILL MORE HESITANT IS RELAXATION OF ECONOMIC PREFERENCES. THE OLD NATIONALIST PLEDGE THAT A WHITE MAN NEED NEVER TAKE ORDERS FROM A KAFFIR (BLACK) IS VIOLATED BY A FEW NON-WHITES QUIETLY GIVEN SUPERVISORY POSITIONS. INTERIOR MINISTER CONNIE MULDER, A CONSERVATIVE AND PER-UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 147700

HAPS THE NEXT PRIME MINISTER, TOLD US RACIAL WAGE DISCRIMINATION MUST CEASE. MORE GOVERNMENT MONEY IS PLANNED TO IMPROVE LIVING CONDITIONS OF URBAN BLACKS.

8. EVEN VERKRAMPTTE POLITICIANS GRUDGINGLY ACKNOWLEDGE THE NEED FOR MUCH OF THESE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES. IT IS THE QUESTION OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY NON-WHITES THAT THREATENS 29 YEARS OF NATIONALIST PARTY MONOLITHIC UNITY.

9. DR. PIET KOORNHOF, THE EBULLIENT, ENGLISH-EDUCATED MINISTER OF EDUCATION, IS THE MOST DARING OF VERLIGTE AFRIKAANERS. HE SCANDALIZED THE ORTHODOX RECENTLY BY CALLING FOR SHARED DECISION-MAKING WITH NOT ONLY COLOREDS (MIXED-BLOOD) AND INDIANS BUT ALSO URBAN BLACKS. IN A TWO-HOUR CONVERSATION WITH US, KOORNHOF ADMITTED POLITICAL CHANGE SHOULD BE FASTER THAN IS EXPECTED, WHILE CONFESSING THAT A FORMULA FOR SUCH CHANGE IS NOT IN SIGHT AND WILL BE A LONG TIME IN COMING - PERHAPS TOO LONG.

10. THE MAJOR REASON FOR DELAY IS THE DOMINANT THINKING WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT. KOORNHOF'S SUGGESTION FOR SHARED DECISION-MAKING WAS REPUDIATED BY ONE CABINET COLLEAGUE

AFTER ANOTHER (INCLUDING MURDER) - BUT NOT BY THE NEW

FOREIGN MINISTER, R.F. (PIK) BOTHA. ALTHOUGH PUBLICLY SILENT, BOTHA PRIVATELY SUPPORTS KOORNHOF. CHARISMATIC, FLAMBOYANT AND PROBABLY THE FIRST SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICIAN TO USE TELEVISION EFFECTIVELY, BOTHA IS VIEWED BY REALISTIC BUSINESSMEN AS THE BEST HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

11. SO, BOTHA'S OUTRAGE OVER U.S. POLICY IS NOT THE FULMINATING OF JUST ANOTHER AFRIKAANER. WHILE CALLING FOR SUFFICIENT CHANGE TO SATISFY THE MORE URGENT NEEDS OF THE BLACK PEOPLE, BOTHA TOLD US THAT "WE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE PROFOUNDLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE UNITED STATES' APPEAR-
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 147700

ING TO DEMAND THAT CHANGE SHOULD BE SO FUNDAMENTAL THAT IT MUST LEAD TO OUR DESTRUCTION AS A PEOPLE."

12. UPON RETURNING HERE FROM HIS POST AS AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON, BOTHA MADE HEADLINES BY DECLARING HE WAS NOT PREPARED TO DIE FOR "WHITES ONLY" SIGNS IN ELEVATORS. BUT, ASKED AN OPPOSITION MEMBER IN PARLIAMENT THE OTHER DAY, WHAT ASPECT OF APARTHEID IS HE PREPARED TO DIE FOR? THE ANSWER: CONTINUED WHITE POLITICAL CONTROL.

13. THE OVERRIDING PROBLEM THUS BECOMES HOW MINORITY WHITES CAN SHARE DECISION-MAKING WITH MAJORITY NON-WHITES SHORT OF POLITICAL SELF-DESTRUCTION. IT IS PRECISELY THAT DELICATE QUESTION THAT THE NEW U.S. POLICY, NO LONGER VIEWING SOUTH AFRICA AS AN ANTI-COMMUNIST BULWARK AGAINST SOVIET PENETRATION ON THE CONTINENT, CONSIDERS IRRELEVANT.

14. HERE ARE THE MAKINGS OF A TRAGIC CYCLE. IF AMERICAN DISDAIN AND AFRIKAANER INTRANSIGENCE COMBINE TO BLOCK CHANGE, REDUCED FOREIGN INVESTMENT WILL WORSEN THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE NATION'S NON-WHITES AND REDUCE THE CONFIDENCE OF ITS BUSINESSMEN. "I AM A LOYAL SOUTH AFRICAN," ONE PROMINENT FINANCIER TOLD US, "BUT I WILL NOT GO DOWN ON A SINKING SHIP. IF NOTHING CHANGES IN THREE OR FOUR YEARS, I'M LEAVING." SUCH DEPARTURES WOULD SIGNAL NOT A VICTORY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS BUT RATHER DEFEAT FOR MODERATION - AND A LONG, BLOODY STRUGGLE THAT CAN ONLY WOUND THE WEST.
CHRISTOPHER

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, APARTHEID, POLICIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 24-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE147700
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: BRUSSELL
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770227-0871
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770621/aaaaasot.tel
Line Count: 165
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 90734977-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN AF
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2043192
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: EVANS - NOVAK ARTICLE ON SOUTH AFRICA - JUNE 24
TAGS: PFOR, SOPN, SHUM, SF, US, WASHINGTON POST
To: AF POSTS
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/90734977-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009